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HEROES

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THE HEROES

OF THE

Nineteenth Century.

The wisest have been ready to acknowledge that the utmost stretch of human wisdom

> "Is but to know how little can be known,
> To see all others faults and feel our own."

Such will ever be found most unassuming. It is the ignorant "whose tongues, like a bell-clapper, ever ding dong the hollowness within." There are thousands who honestly believe slavery, in the United States, an evil, a sin and a violation of God's law, I ask such to thoroughly investigate for themselves, and not take the opinions of any man or set of men on this subject, but form their own by a full examination of the facts. Slavery, in the United States, has nothing to fear from the truth. Agitate—agitate—agitate the subject, until the truth is known, but do not substitute fiction for facts; imagination for realities; nor take the wild ravings of ambitious politicians, or professed religious teachers, who, with

> "One eye turned to God, condemning moral evil,
> The other downward, winking at the devil;"

talk of "a higher law"—"the irrepressible conflict"—"Sharps' rifles"—and excite the passions of their hearers by setting up prejudice for principle, bold assertion for inquiry, abuse for argument, and rant for reason. The fact, that seven thousand millions of negroes, seven times the whole population of the globe, or two millions for every slave that exists in the United States, have lived and died in Africa, in the last three thousand years; have commenced an immortal existence and passed from this world in a disgustingly brutal condition; their whole history told in three words, "lived, propagated and rotted"—produces less effect upon the minds of many than the wild ravings of a Cheever, a Phillips or a Giddings. Certain politicians, who are ready to be all things, to all men, "not that they may do good, but that they may get good," have joined, like the crusaders of old, in this holy warfare. Their text is, "Truth is

Mighty and will prevail;" but they preach nothing but error derived from their high strained, over-wrought imaginations. They have succeeded in stimulating many to a frenzy. There are more John Browns than one—intoxicated—mad—so that on this subject common sense, and sober reality, have lost all power.

In a few words, and with a few facts I will attempt to show why I am justified in holding negroes in slavery; and I hereby bind myself most firmly to liberate every slave that I have whenever any one will prove from the facts governing, or from the nature of the case, that the negro slaves in the United States, would be benefitted by more freedom.

I. I will show, from the History of the African negro, that they have been, for the last three thousand years, the most debased and brutal of all human beings.

II. That slavery has done a hundred fold more, than all other means combined, to civilize, christianize, and exalt them in the scale of being.

III. That emancipation from slavery, in every instance has resulted in great injury to them.

1st. The best estimates fix the negro population of Africa at fifty millions; this does not include the Northern and North-eastern portions which are inhabited by a mixed race of Turks, Arabs and negroes. Of the fifty millions of negroes four-fifths, or forty millions are slaves to the other ten millions. See King Humpsal's History of African Settlements, translated from the Punic Books, by Sallust, and into English by H. Stewart, page 221.

"The Gætuli and the Lybians, as it appears, were the first nations that peopled Africa; a rude and savage race, subsisting partly on the flesh of wild beasts, and partly, like cattle, on the herbs of the field. Among these tribes social intercourse was unknown; and they were utter strangers to laws or to civil governments; wandering, during the day, from place to place, as inclination prompted; at night, wherever chance conducted them, they took their transient habitation." See p. 224. "At the back of Numedia the Gætuli are reported to inhabit—a savage tribe, of which a part only made use of huts; while the rest, less civilized, lead a roving life, without restraint or fixed habitation. Beyond the Gætuli is the country of the Ethiopians." See Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Bible. He says, "It is a notorious fact, that these latter, ('the Canaanites,') were an abominably wicked people. It is needless to enter into any proof of the depraved state of their morals; they were a wicked people in the time of Abraham, and even then were devoted to destruction by God. But their

iniquity was not yet full. In the time of Moses they were idolaters; sacrificers of their own crying and smiling infants; devourers of human flesh; addicted to unnatural lusts; immersed in the filthiness of all manner of vice." See Christian Observer of 1819, p. 732. We quote from Lander's Travels, p. 58. "What makes us more desirous to leave this abominable place, is the fact, (as we have been told,) that a sacrifice of no less than three hundred human beings, of both sexes and all ages, is shortly to take place. We often hear the cries of many of these poor wretches; and the heart sickens with horror at the bare contemplation of such a scene as awaits us, should we remain here much longer;" and page 74, "We have longed to discover a solitary virtue lingering among the nations of this place: (Badagry;) but as yet our search has been ineffectual." And page 77, "We have met with nothing but selfishness and rapacity from the chief to the meanest of his people. The religion of Badagry is Mohammedanism, and the very worst species of paganism—that which sanctions and enjoins the sacrifice of human beings and other abominable practices, and the worship of imaginary demons and fiends." And page 124, "At Paoga, several chiefs in the road have asked us the reason why the Portuguese do not purchase as many slaves as formerly; and make very sad complaints of the stagnation in this branch of traffic." And page 158, "At Leograda a man thinks as little of taking a wife as cutting an ear of corn. Affection is altogether out of the question." And page 160, "At Ritcho it will scarcely be believed that not less than one hundred and sixty governors of towns and villages between this place and the sea-coast, all belonging to Yariba, have died from natural causes, or have been slain in war since I was last here; and that of the inhabited places through which we have passed, not more than a half dozen chiefs are alive, at this moment, who received and entertained me on my return to Badagry, three years ago." And page 176, "They seem to have no social tenderness; very few of those amiable private virtues, which would win our affection, none of those public qualities that claim respect or command admiration. Their love of country is not strong enough in their bosoms to incite them to defend it against the irregular incursions of a despicable foe. * * * Regardless of the past, as reckless of the future, the present alone influences their actions. In this respect they approach nearer to the brute creation than perhaps any other people on the face of the globe." And page 227, "In the afternoon we passed near a spot where, our guides informed us, a party of Falatahs, a short time ago,

murdered twenty of their slaves, because they had not food sufficient." And page 282, "At Zavaris—and many thousands of his men, fearing no law, and having no ostensible employment, are scattered over the face of the whole country. They commit all sorts of crimes. They plunder, they burn, they destroy, and even murder, and are not accountable to any earthly tribunal for their actions." And page 228, "A man is at liberty to return his wife to her parents at any time, and without adducing any reason." And page 345, "Perhaps it would be speaking within compass to say, four-fifths of the whole population of this country are slaves." And vol. ii. p. 208, "It may appear strange that I should dwell so long on this subject, for it seems quite natural that every one, even the most thoughtless barbarian, would feel at least some slight emotion on being exiled from his native land and enslaved; but so far is this from being the case, that Africans, generally speaking, betray the most perfect indifference on losing their liberty and being deprived of their relatives; while love of country is seemingly as great a stranger to their breasts, as social tenderness and domestic affection. We have seen many thousands of slaves, some of them more intelligent than others; but the poor little fat woman whom I have mentioned—the associate of beasts and wallowing in filth—whose countenance would seem to indicate listlessness, stupidity, and perhaps idiotism, without the smallest symptom of intelligence—she alone has shown anything like regret on gazing on her native land for the last time." And page 218, "It has been told us that the Eboe people are confirmed Anthropophagi; and this opinion is more prevalent among the tribes bordering on that kingdom, than with the nations of more remote districts."

The following is from Stedman's Narrative, vol. 2. page 267; "I should not forget to mention that the Gingo negroes are supposed to be anthropophagi or cannibals, like the Caribbee Indians, instigated by habitual and implacable revenge. Among the rebels of this tribe, after the taking of Boucou, some pots were found, on the fire, with human flesh, which one of the officers had the curiosity to taste, and declared it was not inferior to some kinds of beef or pork. I have since been informed by Mr. Vaugils, an American, who, having travelled a great number of miles inland in Africa, at last came to a place where human arms, legs and thighs hung upon wooden shambles and were exposed to sale like butcher's meat. Captain John Keen, formerly of the Dolphin, but late of the Vianbana schooner in the Sierra Leone Company's service, positively assures me that

a few years since, when he was on the coast of Africa, in the brig Fame, from Bristol, Mr. Samuel Briggs, owner, trading for wool, ivory and gold dust, a Captain Denningen, with the whole crew, belonging to a Nassau schooner, were cut in pieces, salted and eaten by the Negroes of Great Drewin."

The Giagas, a race of cannibals, have overrun a great part of Africa. These monsters are descended from the Gallas. Impelled by necessity or the love of plunder, they left their original settlement, and extended their ravages through the heart of Africa, till they were stopped by the Western Ocean. Andrew Battel, whose adventures may be found in Purchas' Pilgrim, and the Capuchin Cavozzi and several Romish missionaries who resided long among them, and converted several of them to Christianity, give such an account of their habits and customs, as is enough to chill the blood with horror. The account given is too horrid and disgusting for recital. Human flesh is one of their delicacies, and they devour it not from a spirit of revenge, but because it is the most agreeable dainty. Their commanders, when they go on their marauding expeditions, carry numbers of young women along, some of whom are slain every day, to gratify this unnatural appetite. See Modern Universal History, vol. xvi, p. 321; also, Edinburg Encyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 185.

Most of the slaves in the Unlted States are descendents of Guinea negroes. Malte Brun's Geography, vol. iv. page 319, describes them as follows: "Their manners, customs and general mode of life, approach so near to animality, that it is not surprising they should have considered monkeys as belonging to their own species. Their stupidity is such, that they have never been able to comprehend the advantage of a mill. The women, who alone perform all the work, are obliged to pound the corn in a wooden mortar, and then to grind it in a hollow stone, by turning about another stone with the hand. * * * * Born in a state of brutal ignorance, at same time puffed up with pride and vanity,these degraded beings are of all masters the most severe, barbarous and capricious. Their slaves approach them on their knees. * * * * The most unrestrained polygamy exists, and the whole influence of the Christian religion has been confined to the discouragement of incestuous marriages. The holy state of marriage, the mutual affection of man and wife, and the enjoyment of domestic happiness, are foreign to their ideas. Drunkenness, noisy music, indecent dances and sleep, are their enjoyments." On page 14, in describing their religion, he writes: "Fitchism, the rudest form of pantheism, prevailed to the exclusion of every other in Africa, especially amongst the negroes.

Their superstitions were merely ridiculous. Arrogance and brutality, however, gave birth to others of a horrible and atrocious nature. The prisoner of war from an adjoining tribe was sacrificed on the tomb of those against whom he had fought. Believing in the necessary connection between moral power and visible objects, these barbarians were persuaded, that by devouring, they become imbued with the courage of the deceased. Cannabalism, arising from the rites of the hideous altar, and at first limited to these rites, was soon converted into a capricious taste, a demand of luxurious appetite. Vanquished tribes thought themselves fortunate in being reduced to slavery, instead of being devoured." Vol. iv. page 141, he says: "The ferocity and dirtiness of the Gallas surpass every idea that can be formed. They live entirely on raw meat. They smear their faces with the blood of their slain enemies and hang their entrails round their necks, or interweave them with their hair. The incursions of these tribes are sudden and disastrous. Every living thing is put to the sword. They butcher even infants, in their mothers womb; and the youths, after being mutilated, are sold by them into slavery." Dr. Livingston, throughout the narrative of his travels in Africa, shows strong anti-slavery feelings, and his bias is so great in favor of the negroes, that he repeatedly dignifies with the name of lady, creatures that appeared before him in a state of entire nudity, and as coarse and disgusting as a rhinocerous. He says, page 246, "I had been, during a nine weeks tour, in closer contact with heathenism, than I had ever been before; and though all, including the chief, were as kind and attentive to me as possible, and there was no want of food, yet, to endure the dancing, roaring and singing—the jesting, anecdotes, grumbling, quarreling and murdering of these children of nature, seemed more like a severe penance than anything I had before met with during my missionary duties. I took thence a more intense disgust at heathenism than I had before." Page 175, he says; "It is, however, difficult to give an idea to Europeans of the little effect teaching produces, because *no one can realize the degradation to which their minds have been sunk* by centuries of barbarism, and hard struggling for the necessaries of life".

Thus, we see, that travelers agree in representing the African negro as the most debased and inhuman of beings. Morally, Africa has ever been

> "A universe of death, which God, by curse,
> Created evil, for evil only good;
> Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
> Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things."

2d That slavery has done a hundred fold more than all other means combined to civilize, christianize and exalt the negro in the scale of being.

Dr. Wayland, the great apostle of abolitionism, says, "The best form of government for any people is the best that its present moral condition renders practicable. A people may be so entirely surrendered to the influence of passion and so feebly influenced by moral restraints, that a government, which relied upon moral restraints, could not exist for a day. In this case, a subordinate and inferior principle yet remains, the principle of fear, and the only resort is to a government of force." This is common sense, is most reasonable and true, and is the great principle on which all government, human and divine, is founded. The equal and inalienable right of all men to freedom, may do to talk about, but it has never yet been put in practice, as our jails and prisons show; and of all creatures under heaven, the negro is least qualified to make proper use of any such right.

The laws of Massachusetts, and I believe of every State in the Union, give parents the right over the person, the time, and services of their children, until they are of age; and the child's time and services belong as fully to the parent; his right to his child's services, and his power over him are as fully established by law as the rights of the slaveholder to his slave. The relation of parent and child, guardian and ward, master and apprentice, master and slave, are very similar; and there is not an argument that can be urged in support of any one, but may, with equal force, be urged in favor of slavery. I will quote from the Statutes of Connecticut — "Whenever any children or minors shall be stubborn or rebellious, and shall refuse to obey the commands, and resist the authority of their parents, or those who have the charge of them, then the parents or those who have the charge of them, or any informing officer, may make complaint to two justices of the peace in the town where the parties live; and such justices may issue a warrant, and cause such children to be apprehended and brought before them; and if, on due inquiry, they shall find them to be guilty, they may sentence them to be committed to the House of Correction; or if there be none in the town, to the common jail in the county, to remain confined to hard labor for thirty days." Revised Statutes, p. 384. There is not a State in the Union, where laws restricting the liberties of minors, denying them the use of their own property and their time, do not exist. There is not a State where prisons, jails, houses of correction, for all classes and ages, will not be found.

Government has its evils—still government is better than anarchy. The highest good of society demands it—demands that restrictions should be placed upon the liberties of the whites. The white child, at three years of age, has as much intellect as a full-grown African negro. The negro has ungovernable passions and appetites far stronger than the whites. The experience of ages proves, that our laws restricting the liberty of the blacks, are as necessary to their improvement; and the highest good of the blacks demand them, as much as any of our laws restricting the liberty of the whites; and that man is unreasonable who says one is essential and the other is not.

Abolitionists should commence at home with the great work of emancipation. Their sons and brothers, before twenty-one years of age, are deprived, by law, not only of their time and services, but of the right to vote and to hold office. They have no voice in making these laws. They are in a state of as complete vassalage as the southern slave. No abolitionist will contend that his son is not more competent to govern himself—better qualified for freedom than African negroes. Why don't Young America stand up and assert his rights?

Inhuman parents are sometimes found who mal-treat their children, and are guilty of extreme cruelty towards them; and so with masters towards their slaves. To charge these abuses upon the system itself, is as reasonable as to charge religion with all the sins of its professors. To a master that would be guilty of cruelty to a slave, the pecuniary loss that might thus result—the fear of the total or partial loss of the value of the slave, (from 1,000 to 2,000 dollars,) would be fully equal as a protection for the slave, to the natural affection of such a father for his child. The price of slaves is governed very much by laws permitting their transfer. Repeal these laws, and their value would lessen one-half. The higher the value of slaves, the more carefully are they treated. Give a brutal, selfish man a horse worth fifteen hundred dollars, and the horse receives far more care and attention than if he were worth only two or three hundred dollars. It is not unusual for good coopers, carpenters and blacksmiths, to sell in New Orleans for three thousand dollars..

I would ask any Northern man, for a moment, to imagine himself a Southern planter, with one hundred thousand dollars invested in slaves, whose cash value is from one thousand to three thousand dollars, each. Would not interest, if humanity and duty failed, prompt you to give them an abundance of good

food and clothing, and every necessary attention in sickness? I have often seen masters sacrifice their own comfort for their slaves, and tend upon them, in sickness, night and day, with as much care as natural affection for a child would ever command from them. The apprentice system, lately adopted by France, will lead to vastly more cruelty than slavery. The history of the Coolie-trade shows, beyond question, that their treatment during transportation, and after arriving at their place of destination is far worse than slaves—and why? Because little or no value is placed upon them. If they were slaves for life, worth one thousand dollars each, their condition would be totally different. A bill was introduced into the Legislature of Louisiana, two winters ago, authorizing the importation of five thousand African apprentices, after the French plan. It was voted down by a large majority, and almost universally condemned, because it would lead to cruelty and oppression.

Slaveholders are well aware that the value of their slaves depends as much upon their moral character and intellect, as upon their physical condition and power, and that their morals and intelligence are directly influenced by their masters and mistresses. They have it in their power to compel their slaves to act right, and the pecuniary consideration, the hope of gain, is a strong incentive to force the slave to an honest, upright life. A slave of good character, well disposed, honest, truthful, addicted to no bad habit, and intelligent, will always sell, in any of the slave states, at the highest price, while a slave of equal physical power but of bad character, will not sell at all —many will not take such a slave as a gift. Masters and overseers of slaves are well aware that their success in managing them depends upon their government being a just one. They cannot punish a slave for an offence of which they, themselves, are guilty. Example must be joined to precept. Every injustice committed by them only reacts upon themselves. Slaveholders know that their success in business is governed by the character of their slaves. This fact has led many masters to a high-minded, honorable course of life. Take the three hundred thousand slaveholders of the United States, and compare them, as to moral character and upright conduct in all the relations of life, with an equal number of farmers, merchants, manufacturers or professional men in this country, or any other, and the comparison will result favorably to the slaveholder.

Abolitionists charge that slavery produces licentiousness.—The charge is utterly false. There is more licentiousness among the half million of free negroes in the United States, than amongst

the four millions of slaves. Slaves are punished for this cause, more than for all others combined. If a foreigner should enter New York and take up his abode at the Five Points, and make out a report of the moral condition of the City from what he learned there, his account would not be true. The statements of the condition of slavery and its moral effects, gathered by travelers from the degraded occupants of the miserable hotels of the small villages of the South, are equally untrue. Examine the prison statistics, and the records of the various courts of the slave states, and compare the number of criminals, and crimes committed, with the free states.—The result of the examination will show that in proportion to population, four times the number of crimes are perpetrated in the free states. The proportion is as one to four in favor of the slave states,—this is the best possible proof that can be offered of the moral effect of slavery. I challenge investigation on this point.

It is not just, nor in any respect reasonable, to form an estimate of the utility of slavery in the United States, by comparing the condition of the slave with the whites; yet this is invariably done. Compare their condition now with what it was in Africa—consider the miserable state of barbarism and idolatry from which they have been rescued. There is not a human being in existence, white or black, who would not prefer, if the choice were given him, slavery in the United States—slavery to a polished race highly advanced in civilization—to slavery in Africa—slavery to brutes—slavery more abject and revolting than fear can conceive. There is no evidence of there being a single slave in the United States that is not the descendant of African slaves; and there is no evidence that one of them was stolen in Africa, and brought here. They were bought there, and transferred from the horrid condition of slaves in Africa, to the infinitely better one of slaves here. If this is not doing as you would be done by, I am incapable of imagining what would be. Three hundred thousand slaves in the United States are professed Christians, having all the privileges of white members of the church. A hundred-fold more than will be found amongst the fifty millions of negroes in Africa. There are laws in every State forbidding masters working their negroes on Sunday, and the slaves attend church as much as the whites. On many large plantations in Louisiana, when it is not convenient for the slaves to go off the place to church, a white clergyman preaches to them regularly. The laws of Louisiana make it "the duty of every owner to procure to his sick slave all kinds of temporal and spiritual assistance which their case may re-

quire." The records of the courts, and the statistics of the jails and prisons of the slave States, show that the slaves do not commit one-half the crimes that the whites do. I am a native of Massachusetts, and resided there till I was sixteen. For the last twelve years, I have been a sugar planter in Louisiana. I am acquainted with many of the farmers of New England, and, also, with many Southern planters, and I am aware of the treatment their slaves receive. In moral rectitude and intelligence, I believe our slaveholders superior to the farmers of New England. They punish their slaves for immoral conduct, the same as they would their own children. Interest, as well as duty, prompts them to this. Compare our slaves with the negoes of Africa or Hayti: ours will be found as much superior, morally and intellectually, as the whites of the United States to our slaves. Slavery in the United States is not the cause of the degradation of the negro. On the contrary, it has done more to civilize and Christianize him than all other means combined.

The sugar and cotton of the United States are almost entirely the product of our slave labor. The yearly value is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred millions of dollars—more than all the fifty millions of negroes of Africa produce in a hundred years. Dr. Wayland says, "Slavery in this country is acknowledged to have impoverished many of our most valuable districts." Is it right to charge upon slavery the evils of a bad mode of cultivation? Does the plow and the hoe in the hands of a slave poison the soil? Because a careless and unthrifty master permits his slave to cultivate badly, and impoverish his land, is this to be imputed to slavery? Because men can be found in New York who have lost their all by commerce, would it be right to say, New York is impoverished by commerce? Because men can be found in New England who have lost immense sums by manufacturing, would it be just to say, Manufacturers have impoverished New England? The assessment-roll cannot be produced of a single one of the fifteen slave States, or of a single county therein, that will not show a gradual increase in wealth, from the time slavery existed therein up to the present time. Slavery never impoverished any district of the United States, or any portion of the world. Pride, prejudice and climate have prevented the same emigration to the slave States that there has been to the free. For this reason, the free States have increased more rapidly in population than some of the slave States. Louisiana, with the drawback of a hot, unhealthy climate, in agricultural products, in proportion to her white population, far exceeds any State in the Union. If slavery in

our cotton, sugar, and rice fields produces yearly a surplus value of two hundred millions of dollars, are we impoverished thereby? Suppose that the three hundred thousand slaveholders of the United States, with their overseers, should emigrate to Africa, and take possession of the negroes there, and reduce them to the same subjection our slaves are in—Africa, in thirty years, would produce more cotton, sugar, coffee, rice, and indigo, than all the rest of the world combined. The soil and climate are sufficient, and the laborers would be sufficient. If this were done, the value produced in dollars would not compare with the moral and intellectual improvement.

Missionary efforts, amongst the negroes in Africa, have ended in failure in every instance. The good accomplished, if any, has been but a drop in the ocean. High hopes were entertained, at one time, that Sierra Leone would be the means of much good; but the English government have found, after expending immense sums there, that the benefit has been little or nothing. Mr. Johnson was appointed to the care of Regents-town. He says, "On looking narrowly into the actual condition of the people entrusted to his care, he felt great discouragement. Natives of twenty-two different nations were there collected together; they were greatly prejudiced against one another, and in a state of continual hostility. When clothing was given them, they would sell it or throw it away. It was difficult to induce them to put it on; and it was not found practicable to introduce it among them until led to it by the example of Mr. Johnson's servant girl. None of them, on their first arrival, seemed to live in a state of marriage. Some of them were soon afterwards married, but all the blessings of the married state, or of female purity, appeared to be quite unknown. * * * * superstition, in various forms, tyrannized over their minds, many devils houses sprung up and all placed their security in wearing gregrees. Scarcely any desire of improvement was discernable; some who wished to cultivate the soil were deterred from doing so by the fear of being plundered of the produce. Some would live in the woods apart from society, and others subsisted by thieving and plunder. They would steal poultry and pigs from any who possessed them, and would eat them raw; and not a few of them, particularly of the Eboe nation, the most savage of them all, would prefer any kind of refuse meat to the rations which they received from government." See vol. xix. of the Christian Observer, page 890. Dr. Livingston, in his work on Africa, describes Sechele, chief of the Bakwains, as the most intelligent and best African he found in all his travels.

He says of him, page 16, "I was from the first struck by his intelligence and by the marked manner in which we both felt drawn to each other. This remarkable man has not only embraced christianity, but expounds its doctrines to his people." On page 19, he says, "Seeing me anxious that his people should believe the words of Christ, he once said, 'Do you imagine these people will ever believe by your merely talking to them? I can make them do nothing except by thrashing them; and if you like, I shall call my head man, and with our litupa, (whip of rhinoceros hide,) we will soon make them all believe together.' The idea of using entreaty and persuasion, to subjects to become christians, whose opinion on no other matter would he condescend to ask, was especially surprising to him." Sechele was a sensible fellow, he understood the negro character, he knew by experience the folly of attempting to reason with creatures whose intellects are about equal to our three year old children, but whose passions and appetites are gigantic. He told them what to do, and if they failed to obey, he applied the rhinoceros hide. It is singular that Dr. Livingston should have given this man, so imbued with pro-slavery notions, his especial friendship, over all others. If Mr. Johnson could have had Scehele with his litupa at Sierra Leone, he might have accomplished something. Africa can never be regenerated except by using force. The liberties of the blacks must be restricted just as much as the slaves are in the United States. Until that is done, all missionary efforts will end as they have hitherto done, in utter failure. President Roberts, in a recent letter, requests "that *liberated slaves* be sent out to Liberia from the United States." He says, "They make the best citizens." This is a commentary upon the degenerating and demoralizing effects of slavery.

Of the 13 original states of this Union, 12 were slave states, and only one free. In the First Constitutional Congress, the slave states had fifty-seven representatives, the free eight. If slavery has such a demoralizing cursed influence how happens it that the best government ever formed was formed by these men representing slavery? The history of the revolution, is mostly a history of men raised among slaves. A Washington and a host of others, engaged in that great struggle, owned them. So far as it relates to these men, I challenge the world's history for examples of equal devotion to country-self-sacrificing, lofty patriotism, high-minded, honorable, intelligent action, to effect the great end proposed. Of sixteen successive Presidents of the United States, eleven were slaveholders.

3rd. Emancipation from slavery, in every instance, has resulted in great injury to the negro. By comparing the present and former condition of Hayti, we can see its consequences. See McCulloch's Geographical Dictionary, page 973. He says, "One of the first effects of the revolution which abolished the slavery of the blacks, was an enormous decrease in the amount of agricultural produce. From 1794, the year in which slaves were declared free by the National Convention of France, to 1796, the value of exported produce had sunk to five per cent. of what it had been when slavery existed; and seven years afterwards, the country had become almost a desert—not only from the wastes of servile war, but, also, from the indolence of the black population. The exports of sugar for several years before abolition, was one hundred and fifty millions of pounds annually, gradually decreased to five thousands pounds in 1824—two thousand pounds in 1825, and, since then, nothing. From 1776 to 1789, the colony had attained the acme of its prosperity, and its produce and commerce were more than equal to all the other West India Islands. Unhappily, however, this prosperity was as brief as it was signal; and the ruin that has overwhelmed the colony, may be said to be complete." On page 975, he says, "Morals are universally disregarded. The private habits of the people are characterized chiefly by filth and laziness. Marriage is scarcely thought of, and the ties consequent upon it have not the shadow of an existence." See Cyclopædia of Commerce, by J. Smith Homans, published recently by the Messrs. Harpers, Article, Hayti. We quote as follows: "In view of the Statistics of Hayti thus presented, it is evident that the movement of the country has been vastly retrograde since it was a possession of France. In 1789, it exported, as we have seen, one hundred and fifty millions of pounds sugar, and nearly one million pounds indigo. In 1849, it exported none. In the former year, it exported seventy-four millions pounds coffee, and more than seven millions pounds cotton. In 1840, the exports of coffee amounted to less than thirty-one millions pounds, and to about one-half million pounds cotton. While the total value of exports from Hayti in 1789, are given at two hundred and five millions of francs, forty years later, they are given at three and a-half millions. * * * * * * The population partially live upon the produce of the grown wild coffee plantations. Properly speaking, plantations after the model of the English, in Jamaica, and Spanish, in Cuba, do not exist. Hayti is the most beautiful and the most fertile of the Antilles. No where the coffee could better thrive than here, as it especially likes a mountainous soil; but the indolence of the

negroes has brought the once splendid plantations to decay. They now gather the coffee only from the grown-wild trees. The cultivation of the sugar cane has entirely disappeared, and, from supplying one-half of Europe with sugar, now supplies its own wants from Jamaica and the United States." Here we have a sad commentary upon the capacity of the negro for progressive civilization. For the last sixty years, the undisputed owner of one of the most fertile spots on the face of the globe—the "Queen of the Antilles," superior to Cuba, or any of the West India Islands—a garden in the highest possible state of preparation, all ready to their hands. Now we see it a desert, and the negroes subsist upon the produce of the wild coffee tree. Compare Cuba, even under the blasting influence of Spanish management and Spanish law, with Hayti, and we see the reverse. In 1789, she exported about as much as Hayti does now, and was as low as Hayti has fallen; but, under the influence of slavery, she has gradually increased in wealth and commercial prosperity, until now she is equal to what Hayti had become under the same influence. Her exports in 1789 were very little, or nothing—probably about the same that Hayti's are now—or about half a million of dollars. In 1826, they had increased to 13 millions dollars, in 1854 to 32 millions, and last year probably reached 40 millions dollars, or about 200 millions francs, what Hayti's were before emancipation. Compare Jamaica with what she was before abolition of slavery. See Cyclopædia of Commerce, by J. Smith Homans, page 1123. "The negro, on whom the cultivation of the soil depends, has gradually retired from labor, and retrograded in the social scale. * * * * During slavery, the dissenting ministers possessed great influence over the slave. He now prefers the established church, because it costs him nothing; but he cares little for either. Not feeling the want of education, he does not seek it for his children. Hence neither churches nor schools are wanted in Jamaica, but congregations and scholars. These observations are confirmed by the last returns, which fix the decrease of children in schools in the single year of 1854, at two thousand." The conclusion come to by Mr. Homans is this:—"The Island must soon become a second Hayti. Already the enormous depreciation of property has caused the ruin of so many, that the name of Jamaica proprietor, once used proverbially to indicate wealth, is now associated with poverty and distress." The same authority fixes the assessed value of movable and immovable property before emancipation at fifty million pounds;—since emancipation, it has fallen rapidly. In 1850, the appraised value was eleven and a-half millions; now, it is eight millions,

or one-sixth of what it was previous to emancipation. In 1809, her exports exceeded three millions pounds sterling, and they were about that for several years before. Now they do not exceed half a million, or one-sixth of what they were when slavery existed. Brazil, under the influence of slavery, is rapidly increasing in wealth, power, and influence. On the Western Continent, she stands next to the United States. In 1850, her first line of steam ships with Europe was established. Now she has eight. Her career is, in all respects, onward. Her public credit abroad is of the highest character. Internal improvements have been projected, and are being executed on a large scale. Her exports of coffee alone, in 1854, were four hundred millions pounds,—two-thirds of the whole consumption of the world. What is the inference we are compelled to adopt from the above facts as to the influence of slavery upon morals and national wealth?

In the United States, where emancipation has taken place, the negroes have been so surrounded by the example and continued influence of the whites, that they have not degenerated rapidly; but wherever this has not been the case, in Hayti, for instance, where the whites nearly all left, their fall was rapid, and they have already sunk to the lowest degradation; and Jamaica is rapidly following her example from the same cause. Not a single example can be found, where the African negro, left to himself, has not rapidly degenerated and sunk to his original African degradation.

England and France have both acknowledged the great error they committed by their emancipation acts, they both see and regret the false, short-sighted philanthropy, which governed them, as ill-advised as the fondness of a mother who would see her child die, rather than force it to take a disagreable medicine. They are attempting to remedy the great evil resulting from the "rose-water philanthropy" of Clarkson, Wilberforce and others, by the coolie trade and African Emigration, either of which are far more objectionable than slavery. The condition of the French African emigrant and English coolie, is as inferior to the slave for life, as the condition of the white servant is to the child under the care of its parent. The coolie trade has led to as great "horrors" as were ever charged upon slavery or the slave-trade. The London Times of June 11th, 1858, says, in writing of the French Emigrant System, "*That the system is nothing more than the slave-trade, under another name, cannot be doubted.*" We have the authority of Mr. Mason, our Minister to France, recently deceased, that the British government have declared that they would not object to the French emigration

scheme while the wants of the British Colonies are being supplied by the coolie trade. The English have, probably, shipped to Mauritius, Demerara, Cuba, and other places, between 400 and 500 thousand coolies, within the last 10 years.

A sketch of the laws relating to slavery in the United States, by George M. Straud, is not accurate nor impartial. It is a false picture, but is universally referred to, by abolitionists, as a good one. It is as far from the truth, as the assertion so often made in the pulpit, that God's law forbids slavery. God's law is as follows: Leviticus, chap. xix., v. 34, "But the *stranger* that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and *thou shalt love him as thyself.*" Chap. xxv., v. 1, 2, "And the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying, speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them." V. 39, "And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant, but as a hired servant, and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee." V. 44–46, "Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them *shall ye buy* bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the children of the *strangers* that do sojourn among you, of them *shall ye buy*, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession, and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond-men forever."

Rev. Albert Barnes, in his "Scriptural Views of Slavery," says, page 252, "Of course, according to this, the number of slaves could not have been less than sixty millions, in the Roman Empire, at about the time when the Apostles went forth to preach the Gospel." Page 250, "All that the argument does require, whatever conclusion we may reach, as to the manner in which the Apostles treated the subject, is the admission of the *fact*, that slavery *everywhere* abounded; that it existed in forms of great severity and cruelty; that it involved all the essential claims that are now made by masters to the service or persons of slaves; that it was protected by civil laws: that the master had the right of transferring his slave by sale, donation, or testament; that, in general, he had every right which was supposed to be necessary to perpetuate the system, and that it was impossible that the early preachers of Christianity should not encounter this system, and be constrained to adopt principles in regard to the proper treatment of it." Page 251, "It is fair that the

advocates of this system should have all the advantage which can be derived from the fact that the Apostles found it in its most odious forms, and in such circumstances as to make it proper that they should regard and treat it as an evil, if Christianity regarded it as such at all." Pages, 259, 260, "I am persuaded that nothing can be gained to the cause of anti-slavery, by attempting to deny that the Apostles found slavery in existence in the regions where they found churches; and that those sustaining the relation of master and slave, were admitted to the churches, if they gave real evidence of regeneration, and regarded by the Apostles as entitled to the common participation of the privileges of Christianity." It is conceded by Dr. Wayland, Dr. Channing, and by Abolitionists generally, that the Bible does not directly forbid or condemn slavery. Dr. Wayland, in his "Elements of Moral Science," page 212, says, "For if it (the Bible) had *forbidden* the *evil*, instead of *subverting the principle*—if it had proclaimed the unlawfulness of slavery, and taught slaves to resist the oppression of their masters, it would instantly have arrayed the two parties in deadly hostility throughout the civilized world; its announcement would have been the signal of servile war, and the very name of the Christian religion would have been forgotten, amidst the agitations of universal bloodshed." Dr. Channing, in his works, vol. ii., page 101, says, "Slavery, in the age of the Apostles, had so penetrated society, was so intimately interwoven with it, and the materials of servile war were so abundant, that a religion preaching freedom to the slave, would have shaken the social fabric to its foundation, and would have armed against itself the whole power of the state. Paul did not, then, assail the institution. He satisfied himself with spreading principles, which, however slowly, could not but work its dissolution." Thus we see, by these modern luminaries, that God Almighty, in the revelation of His will to man, did not *dare* to come out boldly and condemn the sin of slavery, for *fear* His creatures might hurt themselves. He did not "forbid the evil," but simply attempted to "subvert the principle," until these latter days—this glorious nineteenth century—when He has succeeded in creating a race of immortal heroes, who have the courage to stand up boldly and face the mighty evil, and denounce the awful sin. A race that have no fear of "arraying the two parties in deadly hostility." No stratagems—no underhanded work with them. "A Godly, thorough reformation," is what they demand, though it "bring fire, and sword, and desolation."

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